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and is used all the time. If you want to catch a woman or pig, the proper magic must be made. If you want to go on a shark-fishing expedition, or to cause the death of your enemy, again the proper magic must be made. What is even more important, from the economic point of view, is that magic is a private possession in the hands of the few, and is performed only for payment. The price for the performance of the various kinds of magic is as follows:

	Tsera
War magic	10
Black magic	10
Taro magic	1
Magic to detect black magician	2
Rain magic	2 to 4
Love magic	½ to 1
Abortive magic	½ to 1
Magic over dog to catch pig	2 to 4
Magic over new *uben* (fishing-net)	½
Magic to make a pig fat	½

The power of the magic lies in the spell, which the magician guards closely. The rite is performed openly for anyone to see, but the spell is muttered so that no one else can learn it. When I received magical spells from informants they had always to be assured of complete privacy, and often a magician would look closely around the vicinity of the house to make sure that no one was within hearing distance. The knowledge of the spells is a source of income, and should the knowledge become widespread the income would dwindle.

The rule for the acquirement of magical knowledge is that it comes from the maternal uncle, but as a matter of actual practice—from accounts of all the magicians questioned—it was received more frequently from the father, and sometimes the mother. The magician, when quite old, will teach his maternal nephew or son the spell, and the latter makes a payment for it. This initial cost is soon covered by a few performances, and after that there is pure profit, and a more

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or less continuous source of income for the magician. In addition to this material advantage, his prestige is augmented, although a man could not rise to a position of great prestige merely because of his magic. A magician, although always perfectly sincere in his belief in the efficacy of his magic, is occasionally not above a little scheming in his profession. For instance, at the time of the wedding of Tsuros, Towi, her maternal grandfather, paid Niknik to make magic insuring a clear day for the rites. Niknik made the magic, but Teluk, a rain magician from the neighbouring village of Kabil, came and made magic to bring rain on the day of the rites in the hope that Towi would then pay him to get rid of the rain by another magical spell. But Towi had exhausted his finances, and Teluk was not asked to make magic for a clear sky. In discussing it everyone thought the joke was on Teluk, and they were much amused. Incidentally, it did rain the day of the rites, which thus had to be shortened.

MEDICAL SERVICES

Closely akin to the payments for magic are the payments for medical services. Medical treatment consists mostly in the use of certain leaves and roots, both internally and externally, and occasionally magic too is connected with it. There is one difference, however, between the payment for medical and magical services. For the latter, the magician is always paid when he makes the spell, and the payment is in no way affected by whether the desired end is obtained or not. But for the medical service payment is delayed until the efficacy of the medicine is proven and should the patient fail to recover no payment is made. The scale of payment varies with the medicine, which for the ordinary ills, such as swellings, stiff neck, headache, stomach-ache, for continuous urination (infant), pain in the shoulder, and to produce abortion, usually costs one *tsera*. Medicine to make a newly

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Bunglä: Zingiber (ginger). Used to cure swellings of skin; magic said over the leaves, which are then chewed and expectorated over the swollen part of the body. This, it is believed, makes the skin hot and the pain disappears. In India it is used as an aromatic stimulant, carminative, and stomachic; externally, as a local stimulant and rubefacient. We use mustard, which is a bit stronger than ginger, in the same way as a counter-irritant.

A large number of folk-tales and myths, handed down orally from one generation to another, form the literature of these people of Lesu. The tales contain moral precepts, theories of origin, accounts of semi-historical and imaginary happenings, and are counted as knowledge in this community. They are told in their proper context throughout the book.

MAGIC

The Lesu man's knowledge of his natural world may seem very inadequate to us, who have accumulated a more extensive, although still very incomplete, information. Yet limited as the information of these Melanesians may be, the Lesu man is well integrated with his natural world, because he thinks he controls it through magic. For whenever the Lesu man or woman feels uncertain of his own ability to control a situation he uses magic. To control the weather, to ensure a good crop, to make certain of a good catch of fish, to have success in his courtship of a woman, he has recourse to magic.[1]

MAGICIANS

Both men and women are magicians, although the former predominate. In Lesu there are thirteen people

[1] The pragmatic function of magic was first brought out by Professor Malinowski in his studies of the Trobriand Islanders. See his "Magic, Science, and Religion," in *Science, Religion, and Reality*. Ed. by J. Needham (1921).

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practising magic of one kind or another, and only two are women. Of these, one knows love magic and the other medical spells. Magical knowledge is inherited, and the rule is that it be handed down in the female line, and thus stays within the clan. But in tracing how each magician received his magic, I found that it came just as often from a father as a maternal uncle or other clan relative. A magician makes a payment to the person teaching him the spells, and thereafter he guards his knowledge carefully, for as has already been shown the knowledge of magic is an economic asset.[1] Only one type of magic is usually known to a magician; for example, the rain magician will not know love magic. The exception is medical magic, which is more widely known, and so a man who is skilled in love spells may also know a few spells connected with medicine.

The thirteen magicians of Lesu form no separate class, and except for the additional prestige and income they receive they cannot be differentiated from other people. They participate fully in the daily routine of work, and a magician mends his house, clears the bush ground, brings in firewood, and looks after the baby, just as does the non-magician. A woman might know magic, but this does not exempt her from the daily toil of scraping taro. Both temperamentally and mentally the magician appears no different from any other native. He has merely inherited certain spells which he performs for himself when he needs them, or when he is paid by someone for his services. He does not seem to be of any particular type of personality. The magicians of Lesu varied widely in temperament. Some were serious and quiet, others were gay; some were exceptionally good craftsmen, and others were only mediocre. But all magicians, and non-magicians too, were equal in the sincerity of their belief in the efficacy of the magic.

The power of the magic lies in the muttered spell. The

[1] See chapter on Work.

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RAIN MAGICIAN

MAKING TARO MAGIC

[facing p. 304]